505 might hear a piano or phonograph music from somewhere. That
they still must quickly take a look at. The entire crowd rushes
busily into the house concerned and up the stairs. Their curiosity
is soon satisfied and they come down again and now they must be
off quickly so as to be able to make use of the tide current. Their
501 unpainted canoes are 8 to 10 meters (Translator--about 8 to 10
yds.) in length and from 70 to 90 centimeters (Translator--2 1/3
to 3 ft.) in width. They are slim and pleasing in shape and have
[537] black colored decorations around the edges. Each one of them
accommodates from 5 to 8 persons, close together, with their
meager belongings. They paddle along nimbly with their leaf-
shaped oars and, while their canoes glide along silently and
swiftly, the entire crowd has soon disappeared in the mouth of the
484 Mira River. It will take them two days to reach their hometowns.
● 648 During the journey they camp in the open over night, somewhere
along the shore, in an empty pasture. But they have to be careful.
Occasionally they are attacked and robbed there by Negroes, and
if they resist, they are murdered in cold blood. Only recently a
whole group of them, men, women and children, 14 persons al-
together, were most cruelly murdered on the Mira River by some
bestial Negroes.

101 [285] However, our friends will now have arrived home safe
342 and sound on the upper Cayapa River. They are greeted from afar
361 by the friendly smoke of their own hearths. Their villages con-
824 sist of a few, widely dispersed bamboo huts of a most primitive
type. A few uncut tree trunks have simply been rammed into the
earth in a rectangle. The floor is at a height of 3 to 4 meters
(Translator--ca. 3 to 4 yds.) and is made of split bamboo. Above
this, at an equal distance, is the roof made of coconut (?) palm
(Steinnusspalme) leaves. That is the entire structure. Since these
houses have no walls, it is obivous that doors and windows are not
417 required either. The trunk of the Ceiba trees, light as a cork,
824 into which a few steps are hewn, serves as stairs. (The Ceiba tree
512 produces the silk-like balsa wool, called "Kapok" on the Euro-
pean market.) *These stairs are obliquely leaned on, without be-*
ing fastened anywhere. A hen-roost can be climbed more easily
than one of these Cayapa ladders. In order to be somewhat safe
from surprises by unwanted visitors, the ladders are drawn up to
the living quarters overnight, and when a family goes on a trip,
the ladder is thrown into the river and left to float away. After
322 all it is so simple and easy to fetch another Ceiba trunk from the
nearby forest on returning and quickly hack a few step-like cuts
into it with a chopping knife.

and demons; on the other hand it also aims at inducing the father to identify himself intimately with the child. Obviously the women, for whom these customs do not provide the least amount of consideration, quickly lose their earlier beauty and after a few years, they wilt and become horribly ugly.

The marriage of the Cayapa is most harmonious. They do not have polygamy or polyandry, and adultery never occurs or only [287] very rarely. Women or girls who have relationships with white or black men or those of any other race, are killed without pity. In fact they are even forbidden to enter into innocent conversation with such men under threat of severe penalty. If one of the spouses dies, they do not remarry, remaining faithful to the dead. The dead are only buried when the corpse is already in a state of decomposition and when the pestilent smell has become unbearable.

While the villagers and inhabitants of other races in these parts are very hospitable and will always offer hospitality to travelers, no matter how poor they are, even without expecting any remuneration, the Cayapa are an exception to this rule. They fear strangers on account of their women, who are not always safe from them; but most particularly they hate the Negroes who have repeatedly attacked their women forcibly. For this reason it is not easy to obtain shelter in Cayapa villages. As they have frequently also been robbed and mistreated by Negroes, they leave their huts as soon as a Negro settles in the neighborhood, and keep on withdrawing further inland. Thus they have already completely disappeared from the banks of the Santiago River and the lower course of the Cayapa River.

There still is a lot of gold in their region, as indeed there are small layers of alluvial gold in all these rivers. But these Indians, with the exception of a few, more modern minded, and the renegades, do not collect it, nor do they wear gold ornaments. On the other hand none of them would tell a stranger where the yellow metal could be found, even if he were offered a fortune for his secret. From the Cayapa point of view gold is an accursed thing, which brought the white and the black devils into the country and was responsible for their being pushed back into the interior and robbed of their dominion. The Negroes, however, are their sworn enemies because they have too often had to suffer bitter injustice from them.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

There is some evidence of patrilocality, which might be reflected in the closer grouping of terms for fraternal nephews and great-nephews. But the patrilineal bias does not seem very strong. Within the family, men do all the fishing and hunting, the women all the food gathering, cooking, child rearing, and weaving. Men always do the sewing. Women make baskets, mats, and all the pottery. The two sexes cooperate in agriculture, the men clearing the fields, their wives tending the crops and harvesting. They also cooperate in the distillation of rum and the paddling of canoes while on trips.

Politically, the *Cayapa* tribe is divided into three parts: Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel. Each has its chief (gobernador) and a full complement of Spanish-titled officials: secretario, teniente político, alcalde, comisario, capitán, and sargento. The governor carries a cane of black chonta wood with a silver head symbolizing his authority. Barrett feels that in most cases Spanish nomenclature was imposed on aboriginal positions. All offices are hereditary in the patrilineal line, but the new job holder needs the confirmation of the priest. The main duties of this leadership deal with the enforcement of law and order and the dispensation of justice.

None of these positions is a full-time duty, and there is no material compensation for exercising them. The chief has the largest house along the river, where he holds court and supervises punishments. He is quite responsive to public opinion and enjoys considerable prestige.

WARFARE

The *Cayapa* pride themselves on their peaceable relations with their neighbors. Tradition records no war since the mythological Indios Bravos were defeated and driven from the country. Lances and blowguns were used principally for war.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—There are few restrictions placed on the mother at childbirth. Heimann's (1931–32) report of the couvade is specifically contradicted by Barrett. Godparents baptize the infant, who takes their name. Children are never punished, and even the universal annual ceremonial whipping omits the young. Extremely friendly relations between siblings seem to be the rule. When very young, both boys and girls begin to help in adult activities or to engage in them playfully with diminutive tools. Canoeing, farming, and baby tending are all mastered before the child is 10 years old.

Puberty and marriage.—Barrett could find no puberty rites for either sex. He suggests that courtship was left to the young people. The chief marries them at a feast, where they are lectured and whipped. Like succession in political office, marriage must be confirmed by the priest.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the means employed to accomplish it, the advantages in this new location over their former mountain habitat resulted in greater ease of agriculture, improved conditions for growing plantains, facility of travel on the river, and proximity to the sea. The change from their former life, which was that of a village community of mountaineers with maize as the staple food, was very considerable. They at present live scattered along the banks of the rivers, each family keeping to itself in large measure, but they still preserve a semblance of their former village life in the three pueblos, Punta Venado, Sapayo Grande, and San Miguel, each of which is a common meeting place for its particular division of the people.

The provincial and national governments recognize, in a way, the rights of the Indians to full and peaceable possession of their territory, and have endeavored to protect them by enacting laws prohibiting the settlement of other peoples along the Rio Cayapas and its tributaries. The enforcement of these laws, however, has been quite another matter, for the negroes, descendants of former slaves of Colombia and Ecuador, in later years have gradually worked their way up the streams until now their houses extend as far as Corriente Grande. Formerly Cayapa houses were found as far down-stream as Borbon, at the confluence of the Cayapas and Santiago rivers, but at present the house farthest down-stream is only a short distance below the confluence of the Rio Onzole with the Rio Cayapas.

As for the white population of the entire Province of

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

648 Esmeraldas, and especially of the drainage of the Rios Santiago and Cayapas, it is decidedly in the minority; indeed at present there is only one white family living on the course of the Cayapas.

The desirability of the intrusion of another race into a territory occupied by Indians is always doubtful. In this case it is especially so, for some of the negroes at all times take great liberties with their Indian neighbors, not to mention the fact that they openly plunder their crops and houses whenever opportunity offers. These depredations the Cayapa tolerate, rarely taking a hand themselves in the punishment of the offenders, and never committing acts of reprisal. They are a law-abiding people, and recognize completely the authority of the provincial government over all in-
[627] habitants except themselves. Any such acts, if they were to occur among themselves, would be severely punished in their own way and without governmental aid. Be it said to the credit of the provincial authorities, that they recognize the right of the Cayapa to govern themselves and to punish their own offenders, and further that they attempt to protect the Indians from impositions by others. However, it frequently happens that the guilty ones either escape or, if apprehended, are inadequately punished.

628 As above mentioned, all ordinary depredations, such
674 as theft by outsiders, are tolerated by the Cayapa without personally attempting to punish the offenders. There is one crime, however, which demands a severe penalty, namely, outrages against women. The standard of

like the Negroes.

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence agriculture. They are in the money economy but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance is structured in terms of language and culture. A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by the government to be the owners of the land (which is ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the commercial character of the open peasant communities and we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers. They must invest capital in farm land to increase production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he tends not to increase his production at the behest of

The /ún^{y}i/ chief of each of the tribal sections 106
is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the
national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief
of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the
Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that
while this governor is indeed superior to the others,
he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs
nor give orders to them. This is quite different from
the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the
chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all
of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle
only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication).
Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

The /hísa ún^{y}i/ may become the chief upon the
death of the /ún^{y}i/ provided the eldest son of the
/ún^{y}i/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the
job. In these instances the brothers of the late gov-
ernor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned
pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass
out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one
within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless
of title, the duties of the officials are the same:
they are expected to maintain order at the various
festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate
disputes among the Cayapa.

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4 Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /ún^{y}i/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

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The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /ún^{y}i/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camerones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camerones declared the leading village. The Inspectór of Camerones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camerones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camerones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camerones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the /ũⁿỹi/, told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camerones contributed to the Inspectór. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of competence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native of Camerones, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one Negro is making some progress toward involving himself in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindaleñas, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the /kaⁿ'i/ to keep the church clean. Pindaleñas attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

Once a year, as a rule,

groups of Cayapa will band together for protection against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber as they have been able to collect, and set off in small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and papayas. Large sections are planted to the ingua palo that, at one time, was as important economically as the banana is today. The ingua nut is only a minor item in the

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recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Borongo. Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiaguello. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /Gu?L/, but to the authorities at Limones.

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The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiaguello. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. Rubber tapping per se involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's

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claim was definitely in jeopardy. It is interesting that he threatened to go to the provincial authorities. In discussing the case with the writer, Elce stated that "the /kuʔi/ is not worth much, and when it comes to collecting fines, he doesn't do so. If need be, I will go to Limones." To be sure, Elce was disgruntled with the unauthorized planting and the decision ruling it, nevertheless, in effect, he accepted it. The rubber trees became his main concern, although the /kuʔi/ did not specifically prohibit the Tinajones brothers from tapping the trees. Gabriel's narrow decision left the door open for further litigation.

When title to the land is clear, decisions indicate that the owner should profit from unauthorized plantings. This may just as easily be stated in reverse, however: namely, the interloper is entitled to a substantial part of the fruits of his illicit labor. This point is illustrated in the following variant of a case described to the writer by the /kuʔi/.

The usurper is awarded limited usufruct. Some years ago, Pablo Candelabro asked Bartolito Aliaga to sell him a small piece of land about twenty arms-length long.